



# SUDAN STUDIES

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Anyone with an interest in the Sudan, general or specialized, is welcome to join the SSSUK. Membership is by annual subscription payable in January each year. Current subscription rates are:

#### Individuals:

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- elsewhere £18/US\$38

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## EDITORIAL

As I write this in December of 2010 my mind is being constantly reminded of the coming events in January 2011 in Sudan, especially of the referenda about Sudan's political future. I am sure that we all hope that whatever the results there will not be a new civil war and that the Sudan will not collapse into political chaos. Let us hope too that the results of the referenda will be accepted by all sides and that they will be conducted fairly.

You will observe that this issue has been deliberately steered away from contemporary events and has a distinctly historical flavour, which I trust you will find of some interest. However, the issue starts with an Appreciation of **John Alexander**, a member of the Sudan Studies Editorial Board who died during the past year.

Some of you will have seen the announcement that rinderpest has been eliminated. This animal disease has been a great scourge of generations of African pastoralists. The campaign to eliminate it began in 1951 and **Philip Bowcock** provides us with an account of how it all started in the Sudan in Nuerland when he was Assistant District Commissioner there. Another piece of reminiscing comes from **Harold Williams**, a former Sudan forester, who tells the story of his first journey to the Sudan during the Second World War. His ship had been torpedoed and he was assumed dead and a replacement had been appointed. That replacement was Kenneth Jackson of whom an Appreciation appeared in *Sudan Studies* 41.

We have two articles relating to the Mahdiyya by **Dr Faisal Musa** of the Department of History at Neelain University in Khartoum: the first is about the judiciary during this time; and the second is about the Mahdiyya's Nile Fleet.

Another 'historical' contribution comes from our Chairperson, **Douglas Johnson** and is concerned with the development of an



archive service in South Sudan. At times it must have seemed very discouraging to realize just how much important historical material was disappearing during the civil war from neglect and misuse of documents by soldiers to wrap up tobacco to make cigarettes etc!

It seems appropriate to include in this issue a list of new books on the Sudan. The last list was produced in 2008 and was included in *Sudan Studies* 38. For this list we are indebted in particular to **Jane Hogan** who looks after the Sudan Archive in Durham University Library.

This issue also includes book reviews by **Peter Woodward** of Reading University and by our Honorary Secretary, **Gill Lusk**. Under SSSUK Notices you will find the **AGM Minutes and Accounts for 2009**.

On page 3 are details of a new on-line exhibition compiled by the Sudan Archive in Durham University Library. The contents are fascinating.

## **SUBSCRIPTIONS**

*The time has come to remind members that Subscriptions for 2011 are now due and should be sent to Adrian Thomas whose details appear on the inside of the front cover. Please note that he has a new e-mail address: [treasurer@ssuk.org](mailto:treasurer@ssuk.org)*

*Please remember:*

- *The best way to pay is by Standing Order from a bank account. Adrian can supply details.*
- *If you are a British tax payer your subscription can be made under 'Gift Aid' – again Adrian can supply details. A £12-00 subscription, thanks to the Inland Revenue, will then be worth about £15-00 with no extra charge to yourself.*



## THE HIDDEN SUDAN:

### **An exhibition highlighting the work of the Wood Bequest Project at the University of Durham Library**

The purpose of this exhibition is to showcase documents from the newly catalogued collections of the Sudan Archive in Durham University and to highlight their potential importance to researchers.

The exhibition is divided into five themes covering in particular the Condominium from 1898 to 1955. These themes are:

1. Administration of the Sudan
2. Lives of the British in the Sudan
3. The Sudan at war
4. The Sudanese under Anglo-Egyptian rule
5. Sudan post-independence

The exhibition can be accessed through:

<http://www.dur.ac.uk/library/ase/projects/woodsudan/exhibition/>



## John Alexander

John Alexander's death in August 2010 at the age of 88 is the passing of one of the many young men and women who were to have their careers shaped by going off to teach in Sudan. In John's case he arrived in Hantoub, across the river from Wad Medani and then the leading secondary school in the country, in 1948. He was to teach history there and soon came under the influence of another historian, Peter Holt, who encouraged John's interest in Sudan and the Arabic language, before leaving to set up the government archive in Khartoum.

John became especially interested in archaeology and teamed up with Peter Shinnie who was developing his ideas about the importance and distinctiveness of Meroitic civilization. John was to spend some of his leaves working with Shinnie at a number of sites in the north, as well as working in Egyptian Nubia. He also decided to become a full time student of archaeology and studied for a PhD on Balkan pre-history, before becoming a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge.

Back in Britain John continued his interest in Sudan and was a founding member of The Sudan Archaeological Research Society and served as an honorary vice-chairman for many years. In addition to his own work, which included a growing interest in the Ottoman era in Sudan, John assisted numerous Sudanese scholars as well as establishing the Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology. He also served on SSSUK's committee for a number of years stimulating archaeological contributions to both the symposia and *Sudan Studies*. He retained his interest in Sudan to the end of his life, and I recall in his later years his arrival at a feast in St John's wearing the gold trimmed white robes of his honorary doctorate of the University of Khartoum, dazzling the assembled company in a city where for many years only red was worn.

*Peter Woodward*

## RINDERPEST AND SOME MEMORIES

Philip Bowcock

On 14 October 2010 the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations announced that the disease of rinderpest has probably been eradicated and ended its campaign in the field. The last confirmed case was diagnosed in Kenya in 2001 and, all being well, the official declaration of freedom from rinderpest will be made in 2011. This is a major mercy for the world; only one other widespread disease has been eradicated, the human scourge of smallpox. With their usual lack of regard for good news, the press took little notice of this announcement.

Rinderpest is German for cattle disease: in English it was known as cattle plague. It is caused by a virus closely related to measles in humans and distemper in dogs. The death rate is very high, approaching a hundred per cent. Obviously, it can have a devastating effect upon pastoralists dependent upon their cattle, both materially and sometimes spiritually. In his *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer* (Oxford 1951) E.E. Evans-Pritchard wrote:

*"There is good reason to suppose that till thirty or forty years ago bride wealth was paid at the ideal rate of 40 head. In recent years the herds have diminished through rinderpest and raids on Dinka stock, the traditional means of recuperation, are prevented by the presence of the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Diminution has been fairly uniform throughout Nuerland and it would to-day in parts be impossible for a man to raise as many as 40 head of cattle for marriage. The usual payment is from 20 to 30".*

With reference to the cattle raiding it might be recalled that the first District Commissioner of Western Nuer, Vere Fergusson, was killed by Nuer, near Shambe on 14 December 1927, because he insisted on stolen Dinka cattle being returned. When I said good-bye to the





Nyuong, from whom the murderers came, on my transfer to Fanjak, the chief asked me “*Has Kuma forgiven us yet for killing ‘Awarakwei’?*” (*Kuma* is from Nukuma, Arabic for Government).

The disease seems to have originated in Central Asia. There is a tradition that the incursions of Genghis Khan into Europe in the thirteenth century were made even more devastating because their cattle brought with them the “steppe murrain”. War and trade later spread the disease. It is thought that a factor affecting Napoleon’s retreat from Moscow in 1812 was rinderpest among the oxen of his baggage train. In 1865 cattle shipped from Riga in Latvia to Hull carried the disease, leading to what became known as “the great cattle plague” in Britain.

Southern Africa was free from rinderpest until the Italian army, after the defeat at Adowa in Ethiopia in 1887, imported infected cattle from India to Massawa in Eritrea. From then until 1903 the disease spread right down to the Cape killing 80% to 90% of domestic livestock, it is believed. Pastoral tribes starved and thousands of kudu and other wild ruminants died. In consequence, lions, being short of their usual food, changed to a human diet. In 1994 Somali refugees crossed into Kenya with infected cattle. Thousands of buffalo with kudu and eland died in the Tsavo National Park, but inoculated cattle survived.

For centuries the only remedy was isolation and slaughter. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, vaccines were being developed and in 1950 the African Bureau of Epizootic Diseases was established with the goal of eliminating rinderpest from the continent.

The achievement of this goal has evoked some memories. In 1951 I was Assistant District Commissioner of Western Nuer District, now Wahda or Unity State, the site of important oilfields. It was convenient for the District Commissioner to concentrate on the northern part of the district including the district headquarters or *Merkaz* at Bentiu. It was only a few years before that the *merkaz* had come ashore from the district paddle steamer from which the administration operated like a peripatetic medieval English monarch. Landing stages, or *meshra*, had been built to provide access on foot or

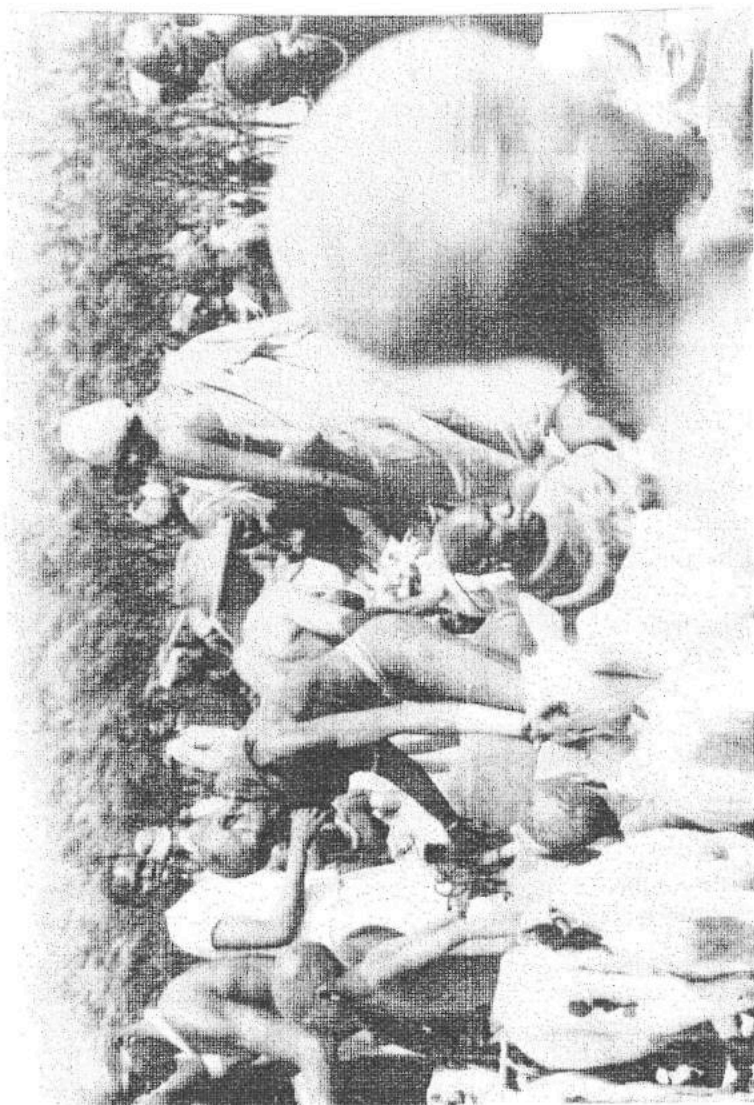


horse from the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal to the court centres on higher ground away from the rivers.

Wilfred Thesiger, who was Assistant District Commissioner in Western Nuer from December 1937 until the Second World War, describes this unusual style of administration in his *The Life of my Choice*, Collins, 1987. He reports that rinderpest was probably introduced into Nuerland during the Mahdiyya, and had devastated the Nuer herds then and has continued to do so. (When I asked if 'Kwacuor' was remembered, Nuer replied that of course, he was just like them; he could walk as far, sleep on the ground and suffer the hardships just as they could.) The southern part of the district, from north to south contains the Jagai Nuer, the Dok and Aak round Ler and the Nyuong who share the Lake Nyibor area with the Dinka, not always peacefully. The centre is Ler, about 90 miles south of Bentiu and the home of the Dok, the most numerous segment. It is the birthplace of Riak Machar, the Vice President of the Government of Southern Sudan, and the burial place of his British 'wife' Sarah McCune, killed in a motor accident in Kenya. Though well populated in Nuer terms a flock of ostriches lived there, a single melancholy shoebill stork and various other storks, and cranes and partridges.

I worked with an impressive chief Riak Dong who was probably Riak Machar's grandfather, though I have not been able to verify this. The Dok had huge herds of cattle and Ler was chosen by the Veterinary Department for their rinderpest inoculation campaign.

During the latter months of 1951 we spoke to as many people as could be reached to explain what was to happen and when, while stressing the importance of all the cattle being protected by inoculation. The chiefs carried the message to all of the *gatwots*, "the sons of the stud bull", the clan heads. There was an extra difficulty in getting the message accepted in that a few years before there had been a vaccination programme on the Zeraf Island, on the other side of the White Nile. It was to counter sleeping sickness or trypanosomiasis I seem to remember. It was said to cause bare patches on the hide which did not kill the cattle but marred their beauty.



Inoculating cattle in Nuerland with Tony Polden, 1953

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The Nuer districts shared one Veterinary Inspector, stationed in the central district of Fanjak. He was Tony Polden, a tough young Irishman, known to the Nuer logically as the 'Kim Ok' (from the Arabic *hakim* for doctor and *Ok*, the Nuer for cattle). His bull name was 'Bilieth'. He was to bring his team of about four veterinary assistants with the vaccines kept in a paraffin refrigerator in January 1953. (It was always a good thing to meet the vet on trek as he would be the only source of cold beer!)

The DC and I went into Malakal for Christmas and had various meetings. Senior chiefs came as well for the Nuer chiefs' meeting which was to try to reach decisions on an agenda seeking to harmonise various aspects of Nuer law. The working text was Paul Howell's *A Manual of Nuer Law*. On 27 December 1952 the junior nursing sister at the Malakal Hospital and I were married, Chief Gatkek of the Leik Nuer coming forward on his own initiative to make a speech at the reception, using my interpreter Joshua Malual Mut, later to be the member of Parliament for Southern Western Nuer.

On arrival at our first married home my new wife Brenda and I set off immediately for Ler. Would the people have responded to the call to bring in their cattle? Emerging from the dom palm trees of Jagai on to the Ler plain there was a most exciting sight. Cattle of all ages, sizes and colours were being driven from every direction to the inoculation centres. The young men, wearing their best beads and ivory or shiny upper arm bangles, were dancing and singing to their song bulls. It was a sight never seen before, or since I would guess.

January is in the middle of the dry season and at the centre of activity there was a great cloud of dust. In the cloud was Tony Polden, stripped to the waist with his assistants, working all through the day to inoculate these huge numbers. It was most satisfying to know that the Nuer now trusted the *Kuma* enough to allow it to stick needles into their most precious possessions and that they would no more be at risk of rinderpest.

At their conference that evening the chiefs had to decide on Brenda's name. They fixed on 'Nyaok' which means "daughter of the cattle"



because she had first arrived when more cattle had been assembled than ever seen before. Thereafter, we were always greeted just as Bilried and Nyaok. Nuer has none of the honorifics that Arabic boasts.

My memories are not quite finished. The rinderpest eradication report brought another one. I was bred up, as the local expression has it, on a dairy farm on the Shropshire/Staffordshire border in England. A wall near the front door of the farmhouse is inscribed to record the death of some 180 cattle on the farm in the Great Cattle Plague of 1869. It would have been a devastating blow to the farmer at the time and he rightly thought that it justified a permanent record. Presumably, the cattle either died of the plague or were slaughtered to prevent wider infection. British farmers can be as grateful as the Nuer, Dinka and other cattle owning peoples that a terrible threat to their herds has been removed.

A generation later Ler came back into my life. Our daughter spent a term of her medical training at Ler Hospital in 1980, during the period of peace between the civil wars. Her account of this experience was published in the *British Medical Journal*. Soon after her arrival at Ler via Kenya and the Missionary Air Fellowship plane I was on an RAF Viscount flying over the Sudan to help to supervise the Zimbabwe elections. It was dusk when we passed over Khartoum. Later, I asked the captain where we were: he said that in one and a half minutes we would be over a small place I would never have heard of called Malakal. I was able to tell him that I was married there twenty seven years before and our daughter was below us, some way to the west. The rinderpest inoculation campaign had a happier outcome than some other of my experiences!



## GETTING TO THE OFFICE

Harold Williams

Many of us know the hassle and so on when getting to the office in the morning, but I think four months may be a near record?

Having graduated from Edinburgh University in June 1942 with a B.Sc degree in Forestry, our little group of young men came under the control of the Manpower Commission based in London. Following interviews, we were told to return to University and await instructions.

It was not until November that orders arrived and I was told to join the Middle East Supply Centre in Cairo to join the Forestry Service in Sudan. Then followed a rush to get tropical kit, ant-proof trunks etc. and travel warrants. On 12<sup>th</sup> November I arrived in Liverpool to be escorted to a B & B for the night and, early next morning, I was taken to the docks to board a cargo ship which turned out to be a Dutch ship of some ten thousand tons carrying military supplies for the Middle East.

As passengers we were a small group of ten men and two women; five of us 'technicians', three priests and two wives on their way to join their husbands.

We sailed from Liverpool in darkness and moved up to the Clyde to join a convoy bound for Canada, again leaving in the dark. We never saw our convoy as we were kept well behind the other ships, being something of a 'floating bomb' in view of our cargo, but a corvette would appear occasionally to check that we were still heading west.

The Dutch crew made us very welcome under rather cramped conditions; the only free deck space available being one hatch



cover as nearly all the decks were covered with military stores and vehicles. After several days we saw the lights of Halifax, - ah land at last! - but 'no', the convoy sailed on, whilst we did a smart turn and headed south alone in the Atlantic.

The weather improved and became sunnier and warmer, and Christmas Day was celebrated with a carol service and a surprisingly good lunch. Early in January 1943 we saw land and were soon anchored in Pernambuco in the company of Brazilian naval ships as this was their naval head-quarters. We enjoyed three days ashore whilst the ship was re-fuelled, the coal being carried by dockers using baskets carried on their heads.

Off again, and an uneventful journey across the South Atlantic and into Cape Town harbour, where we were met with a barrage of 'Aldis' lamp signals. The ship turned smartly out to sea again and so onwards round the Cape and into the Indian Ocean where we were met by an Indian Navy corvette.

A beautiful sunny morning off Port Elizabeth when there was a very loud bang and we stopped suddenly. Our corvette escort cleared off dropping depth charges. The torpedo had hit the only safe place - the engine room - and we settled down to await events. Some hours later we were taken off by a tanker bound for the Gulf. The crew treated us well and dropped us off in Durban where 'The Lady in White' serenaded us from the top of the Bluff.

During the voyage one of the other passengers proved to be a railway engineer bound for the Sudan. We teamed up and reported to the Thomas Cook's Durban office where we were met with some surprise. They finally admitted that we had been reported as sunk in the Atlantic and that our replacements were on their way out from the U K! The two of us stayed in Durban for four weeks while things were sorted out and we then sailed to Mombasa where



after a short delay, we set off overland by train, road and river transport.

On reaching Juba I was met by the local forest officer who brought me instructions to proceed to Yei District and to organize a group of saw-mills. So, one night in Juba and next day 100 miles (160 km) of dirt road to reach Loka West where we spent the night in a mud and thatch house. Next morning after breakfast we walked a few hundred yards down the road and entered the office. I think you will agree that this was a rather unusual trip to one's office!

Outside the office was a mountain of boxes, crates and several steam engines containing the saw mills! In the office, I was introduced to the clerks and to Abdul. He was a Turkish mechanic with no word of English: however, between us we built our saw mills, but that's another story.

*(Harold Williams's "replacement" was Kenneth Jackson of whom an Appreciation appeared in 'Sudan Studies' 41 for January 2010. Ed)*

## THE JUDICIARY IN THE MAHDIYYA STATE

Faisal M Musa

The judiciary of the Mahdiyya was based on Islamic doctrine, and judicature was the main goal of the Mahdist philosophy (*The Mahdi will fill the earth with justice as it has been filled with injury*).

### THE JUDICIAL HIERARCHY

#### **The Mahdi and the Khalifa's Sayings or *Manshurat*<sup>1</sup>**

Beside the Holy Quran and the *Hadith* of the Prophet Mohamed, the Mahdi after him and the Khalifa used to issue proclamations on certain occasions. They said that their statements were inspired by the Prophet (*Hadrat Al Rasul*). They would follow his *Sunna* and imitate him in their practice. They used to order their Amirs to achieve justice and equity in their judgements even if these were against themselves or their families<sup>2</sup>.

#### **The Council (*Shura*) or *Maglis Umana Al Sharia***

The Mahdi established this council to advise him on political issues, military operations and national security. It consisted of some remarkable figures, namely Abed Al Gadir Satti (the Mahdi's cousin's son); Mohamed Fawzi (the Mahdi's Registrar and holder of his seal); Mohamed Wad Suliman; Al Zaki Rahama Al Shafiai (the Mahdi's private secretary); Ali Al Amin; Ismail Shajar Al Khaira; and Ahmed Wad Al Nur (from the Sharia scholars)<sup>3</sup>. The most famous cases which this Council investigated and advised on during the Mahdi's life were: the case of Mohamed Said Pasha (the Turkish governor of El Obeid) who surrendered to the Mahdi after the attack of the Ansar. He was accused of responsibility for the deaths of his citizens and of Ansar, and was condemned to death<sup>4</sup>. The other case was that of Makki Al Manna, who refused

the Mahdi's call and forbade his tribe taking part in the siege of El Obeid and disagreed with the Khalifa Abdullahi. The Council passed judgement on him and condemned him to death for reasons explained in a letter from the Mahdi to the people of Um Ruwaba<sup>5</sup>. The third case involved the conduct of the siege of Khartoum and the rumours which spread of the arrival of a rescue expedition for Gordon. The Mahdi, who hesitated to make the decision for a final attack on Khartoum, was obliged to accept the common opinion of the Council which was responsible for decisions relating to war. The Mahdi listened to the various ideas put forward about a decision for attack but accepted the views of Al Amir Ahmed Sharfi (his relative), Al Amir Mohamed Wad Nubawi (Sheikh Beni Garar), Ali Al Mahdi, Jehad Fi Sabil Allah and Mohamed Abdel Karim (uncle of the Mahdi)<sup>6</sup>.

When the Khalifa Abdullahi was installed he made some changes to the Council. He added some relatives to it such as Yacoub (his brother) and Sheikh Al Din (his son). He also added to it the Omdurman Court Judiciary, the Amins and Amirs of the *Beit Al Mal Al Umum* (Treasury) and the Governor of Omdurman Market Court. The Council reached 80 members and was headed by Yacoub. The Council gave the Khalifa advice relating to many cases, but the Khalifa sometimes did not follow this advice, as with his stand against the advice to attack Kitchener's army by night at Karari. It is known that the most famous Amirs in the Council discussion, who preferred to attack by night, were Osman Digna (Amir Al Sharq), Ibrahim Al Khalil (Amir of the army), Mohamed Wad Nubawi (Amir Beni Garar), Ahmed Shafi (the Mahdi's relative) and Mohamed Al Mahdi (son of the Mahdi)<sup>7</sup>.

### **The Judiciary Council or *Maglis Al Koudat***

The Khalifa also established another Council, *Maglis Al Koudat*, composed of the Khalifa, the scholars of the Sharia, the Islamic Judge and 25 notable members of the Khalifa's tribe and chieftains of various other tribes. The Council had a political aspect, because



all cases it examined were those repugnant to the Khalifa, such as the cases of Al Zaki Tamal, Ibrahim Wad Adlan (Amin of the *Beit el Mal*) and Ahmed Fawzi. However, the most interesting case was that of Mohamed Sharif<sup>8</sup>, uncle of the Mahdi. It gave judgement against the Al Ashraf revolt of which Mohamed Sharif was the leader. It was signed by 46 members of the Council<sup>9</sup>. However, to appear neutral the Khalifa who was head of this Council, was not among those who signed.

### **The Islamic Judge (*Mahkamat Al Islam: Qadi Al Islam*)**

This was the highest judicial authority in the Mahdist state. Although the Mahdi was the Imam and his sayings ranked beside the Quran and Sunna, he gave instructions for the post of Judge of Islam to be established, and chose for it Ahmed Wad Jubara, one of the El Azhar scholars famous for his decency, trustworthiness and honesty. Besides this judicial role Ahmed Wad Jubara shared in the Jihad and fought at the battle of El Obeid in which he was killed. The Mahdi had a very high regard for him. Some of the Judges of Islam became important leaders like Ahmed Wad Ali who became the Amir in the army of Yacoub.

During the Khalifa's rule the influence of the Islamic Judge became more important because the Khalifa was not of the status of the Mahdi in terms of Islamic knowledge. He thus gave important consideration to the judgements and counsel of the Islamic Judge, whose status became greater after the Khalifa delegated some of his powers to the holder of this position. At the end of the Khalifa's rule the Islamic Judge had become so powerful to the extent that he could inquire, or order, the Amirs of the regions directly and could punish them or blame them if he felt that their rule was not in line with Islamic doctrine.

The Islamic Judge was criticized on the grounds that the Khalifa used the Judge's position and judgements to settle tribal disputes, to appoint new Amirs, or depose others<sup>10</sup> and to carry the Khalifa's

decrees to the important Amirs or to the leaders of the army. Thus, Ahmed Wad Ali (as Qadi or Judge of Islam) headed the Khalifa's delegation to the army on the eastern front at Gallabat after the death of its commander, Hamdan Abu Anga praising his deeds in the Jihad and appointing his assistant, Al Zaki Tamal, as Commander-in-Chief<sup>11</sup>.

In spite of some criticism, the Judge of Islam was the most respected and effective post in the judiciary because the figures who held this post were famous for their knowledge and honesty, like Hussein Al Zahra whose reputation was known all over the Sudan, but was to fall foul of Yacoub, the Khalifa's brother<sup>12</sup>.

## SALARIES OF THE JUDICIARY

During the Turco-Egyptian rule judges were granted a monthly salary at the following rates:

Khartoum Court Judge	150 piastres
Judge	145/750 piastres
Mufti	120/150 piastres

When the Mahdi took power the salaries remained as they were, but were paid in Mahdist coin at the following rates:

Islamic Judge	50 Mahdist riyals
Islamic Court Wakil	40 Mahdist riyals
Sharia Deputy	20 Mahdist riyals

Beside these salaries judges were granted special clothes, food and transportation. The salaries were paid from the income of the Governor, and when the judge was retired he was granted a monthly pension for his family from the *Beit El Mal* of 10 Mahdist riyals<sup>13</sup>.

## THE COURTS

### **The Islamic Court (*Makhamat Al Islam*)**

This was the highest Court. It consisted of the highest ranks of the judiciary; later on the Khalifa added some of his relatives to the membership. The main function of this court was to judge on cases transferred to it from the regional courts, and to judge on appeals and complaints of the populace from either the regions or from the towns. It had the right to amend or annul the decisions of lower judges. This Court had the seal and stamps of the Islamic Judge and the Wakil of the Islamic Court. When first established it used to hold its meetings every Thursday at the principle mosque in Omdurman. When buildings were completed the Court moved to its final location<sup>14</sup>. The Khalifa dominated this Court; his aim was to compel the judiciary to act according to his wishes since he was the Imam who was supposed to '*fill the earth with justice and equity*'. The Khalifa sometimes sent staff from this Court on missions to inspect the work of the regional courts. When Ahmed Al Ali was accused and condemned to death his place remained empty and Suliman Al Haggaz (the Wakil of the court) acted as chief of this Court.

The most famous judge of this Court was Al Hussein Al Zahra who wrote a book as a commentary in answer to Ahmed Al Awwam's book, *Nasihah Al Awwam* in which he criticized the 'Ulama of the former Egyptian regime and their subjection to their president. Al Hussein Al Zahra suffered the same fate as Ahmed Wad Ali<sup>15</sup>.

### ***Beit Al Mal* Court**

This was an administrative and financial court dealing with matters of finance like forging coins, giving false measure or embezzlement. It had a military nature. Its head was called the Judge of the *Beit Al Mal* (and sometimes Amin *Beit Al Mal* acted as head of this Court as with sending Al Nur Ibrahim Ajirafawi to



the *Beit Al Mal* Berber). The function of this Court was to judge on complaints of citizens against decisions of the *Beit Al Mal* or decisions by governors of the markets.

The Khalifa, who had authority over the work of the *Beit Al Mal*, used his power to send members of this Court to review the activities of any branch of the *Beit Al Mal* in the different parts of the Sudan, as with the mission of Judge Ahmed Al Raiah to revise the accounts and work of the *Beit Al Mal* Shatt in the White Nile district<sup>16</sup>.

### **The Court of *Muhtasib al Suq***

To achieve justice the Mahdi issued Islamic orders organizing the markets so that buying and selling would be ordered according to the Sharia. He ordered the merchants to avoid cheating, deceiving and swearing falsely. The Khalifa at the start of his rule followed the way of the Mahdi, but he took a practical step by establishing the position of *Muslih Al Suq*<sup>17</sup>, whose duties were defined under the Islamic verse, '*Al Ann be al Maruf wa al Nahi An al Munkar*'. These were the organization of the markets, and closing down any unauthorized market, such as that of Khalid Al Omerabi who made a *zeriba* for buying dura in Al Mourada market<sup>18</sup>.

### **Al Mourada Court**

This was established during the Khalifa's rule as a result of the development of a Nile fleet, and the problems arising from the storage process which led to robbery<sup>19</sup>. The function of this Court was to judge on robbery cases especially during the famine year of 1306 AH (1888-1889 AD).

### **The *Sariya* Field Court**

This was a military court dealing with cases which arose between soldiers on the one hand and citizens on the other. The most famous case handled by this Court was that of Gibreel, in the period when Hamdan Abu Anga was on the Ethiopian-Sudan

border at Gallabat<sup>20</sup>. Gibreel announced that he was *Nabi'i Isa* (the Prophet Jesus). The court charged him with this and because of the seriousness of the case Hamdan Abu Anga sent the death sentence to the Khalifa who immediately ratified it<sup>21</sup>.

Another important case was that of the Ja'aliyyin prisoners after the Metemma War (July 1897). The Ja'aliyyin being considered as booty aroused an Islamic argument. Should they be considered as infidels because they refused to accept the Mahdi, although they were Muslims, or should they be considered Muslims opposed to the Khalifa's authority? The sentence of the court considered the Ja'aliyyin prisoners and their land and money as booty for the *Beit Al Mal*<sup>22</sup>.

## BIOGRAPHY OF SOME OF THE JUDGES OF THE ISLAMIC COURT

Responsibility in the judicature was committed to some strong and honest men:

### Ahmed Wad Jubara (1881-82)

He was the first judge to sit in the Islamic Court in the Mahdiyya. He was of Turkish origin and his homeland was Syria. He came with his family to the Sudan in the last days of Turco-Egyptian rule. He had his Islamic education in Al Azhar in Egypt. He was among the first of the *'Ulama* to accept the Mahdi and he accompanied him from Aba Island on the march to the Gadir Hills. The Mahdi appointed him as the Islamic Judge after the victory at the battle of Sheikan. He was of high status and very close to the Mahdi. He was killed in the battle for El Obeid on 22, Shawal 1299 AH (8 September 1882)<sup>23</sup>.

### **Abdallah Wad Jubara (1882)**

The Mahdi had chosen him for this post after the death of his brother. He did not accept the appointment, but thanked the Mahdi for his confidence and his respect for his family<sup>24</sup>.

### **Wad Hallab (1882)**

He was from White Nile Province. He was famous for his Islamic knowledge and decency. He joined the Mahdi at Aba Island and marched with him to Gadir. The Mahdi appointed him when Abdallah Wad Jubara refused to accept the post. He filled this post for a few months before he too was killed in battle at El Obeid<sup>25</sup>.

### **Ahmed Wad Ali (1882-1894)**

He was from the Beni Helba tribe from southern Darfur. He had been judge of Shaka district during the Turco-Egyptian period. He joined the Mahdi at Gadir and he was on good terms with the Khalifa who had recommended him to the Mahdi. He was appointed after the death of Wad Hallab. After the Khalifa's installation he was appointed as chief judge of the Islamic Court in Omdurman. He was of striking appearance, rigid and steadfast. Towards the end of his period he came into conflict with the Khalifa and the Khalifa's brother Yacoub, who had begun to interfere in his work. He was accused of using his position to collect money and wealth. He was expelled from his post and was sent to gaol where he remained until he died in 1894. Holt, Ibrahim Al Jack and Shibeika in their writings say that the reason for the sentence and the miserable end to Ahmed Wad Ali was because he stood against interference by the Khalifa and Yacoub in the decisions of his court.

### **Suliman Haggaz (1894)**

He was from a prominent and rich family from Berber in the Northern Province. Before his appointment he was acting as *Wakil* of Omdurman Islamic Court. At that time his duty was co-ordination between the Islamic Court in Omdurman and the



regional courts, especially in the appeals for judgement. When Judge Ahmed Wad Ali was sent to gaol the Khalifa ordered him to act as Judge of Islam until a new judge was appointed. He had much knowledge of Islam but was not trusted by the Khalifa<sup>26</sup>.

### **Al Hussein Ibrahim Al Zahra (1895)**

He was from Wadi Shair near Mesellamia in the Gezira. He had his Islamic education at Al Azhar in Egypt. He was a philosopher, poet and writer. He joined the Mahdi after the Battle of Sheikan and wrote a book supporting the Mahdi (*Al Ayat Al Beyinat Fi Zohoor Mahdi Al Azman We Gayt Al Gayat*). He used to give lessons on the Quran and Sharia doctrines in the great mosque in Omdurman. He was appointed Islamic Judge after the death of Ahmed Wad Ali. He was famous for his decency and sense of justice. He had an independent view and his judgements were based on the Quran and Sunna and he rarely depended on the Mahdi's *Manshurat*. He was accused of open opposition to the Khalifa. The Khalifa, who relied on his brother Yacoub, listened to his advice and Al Hussein was sent to prison where he died from torture and starvation.

### **Om Badi Al Radi (1897)**

The position of Islamic Judge remained vacant after the death of Al Hussein Al Zahra whose death led to great sorrow and sadness among the 'Ulama. No one dared to take the appointment because they feared the fate of Al Zahra if they opposed the Khalifa. Finally, to cut short rumours the Khalifa appointed Om Badi Al Radi in early 1897. He was a relative of the Khalifa from the Ta'aisha tribe. He was not qualified for the post, but he was obedient to the Khalifa. He was inclined to judge according to the common law and traditions rather than the Sharia. In his time the Islamic Judge was also called the General Judge (*Gadi Al Umoom*) and common courts were also established in the outskirts of Omdurman. He died in the battle at Karari.

### Al Nazeer Khalid (1897-1898)

He was from Al Kalakla village near Khartoum, and was of high religious knowledge. He was famous for refusing to burn the old books of the Sharia during the Mahdi's life and lived in isolation. The Khalifa appointed him as Islamic Judge and General Judge and he remained in this post until the downfall of the Khalifa's government. He used to complain to the Khalifa about the interference of his brother, Yacoub, in his work<sup>27</sup>. He played an important role in the spiritual life of the Jihad among the warriors when the British and Egyptian troops invaded the Sudan. His *Fatwa* that Jihad is compulsory for any Muslim compelled the Khalifa to forgive all the prisoners and his opponents asking them to share in the Jihad and defend their country.

### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> *Ibn Arabi, Al Futuhat al makia*, from M Abu Salim, *Manshurat al Mahdi*, Khartoum (1976), p14.

<sup>2</sup> *Al Mahdi letter to the Amirs and Sharia Deputies*, 1295AH, National Records Office, Khartoum (NRO), Mahdiyya 412.

<sup>3</sup> Mahdiyya, 1/16 Vol 1 p179, NRO.

<sup>4</sup> Mahdiyya, Al Sadir p4, NRO.

<sup>5</sup> Mahdiyya, Al Sadir p4, gives the Mahdi's reply, NRO.

<sup>6</sup> Ali Al Mahdi, *Diaries*, NRO. See also Udal, J O, *The Nile in Darkness* Vol II (2005), p463.

<sup>7</sup> Ali Al Mahdi, *Diaries*, NRO.

<sup>8</sup> Ibrahim Al Jack, *The Judicial System in the Mahdiyya State*, M A Dissertation, Cairo University, 1975.

<sup>9</sup> M Abu Salim, *Al Haihy Al Fikria Fi Al Mahdia*, Khartoum, 1970. p73 and Ali Al Mahdi, *Diaries*, p127, NRO.

<sup>10</sup> Letter from the Khalifa to Yunis Al Diekaim, 18 Muharram, 1305 AH, NRO Mahdiyya, al Mahdi Daftar al Sadir.

<sup>11</sup> Al Kurdufani Ismail, *Kitab Sa'adat Al Mustahdi Fi Sirat Al Imam Al Mahdi*, Sudan Archive Durham (SAD) 99/6.

<sup>12</sup> Mekki Shibeika, *Al Sudan Abr Al Qoroun*, Cairo (1994) p 97; Ibrahim Fawzi, *Al Sudan Baina Yada Kitchener and Gordon*, Cairo (1990), p328.

<sup>13</sup> Shibeika, *Al Sudan...* p216; see also Udal, *Nile in Darkness*, p496.

<sup>14</sup> Al Jack, *The Judicial System...* p 118.

<sup>15</sup> Hussein Ibrahim Wad al Zahra, SAD 98.5.2.

- <sup>16</sup> Musa M Faisal, *The Financial policy in the Mahdia State*, M A Cairo University, 1975
- <sup>17</sup> Letter from Taher al Shibli to the Islamic Court Judge, Shabban, 1307 AH, NRO, Mahdiyya, 2/37/342.
- <sup>18</sup> *Manshurat Al Mahdi*, Vol 3 p90; and Mahdia, Al Sadir Vol 1 p179.
- <sup>19</sup> Mahdiyya, 1/14, Vol 3 p 161, NRO.
- <sup>20</sup> Udal, *Nile in Darkness*, Vol II, p482.
- <sup>21</sup> Mahdiyya 1/14, Vol 3 p 161, NRO.
- <sup>22</sup> Beit Al Umum Omdurman, Mahdiyya 2/81, NRO.
- <sup>23</sup> Al Jack, *The Judicial System....*, p69.
- <sup>24</sup> Abu Salim *Manshurat al Mahdi*, p210.
- <sup>25</sup> Al Jack, *The Judicial System....*, p71.
- <sup>26</sup> Abu Salim and Ibrahim Al Jack.
- <sup>27</sup> Letter from Yacoub to Al Naeer Khaled and his brothers, the Sharia Judges, 24 Rabia Awal 1315 AH, Mahdiyya 1/34 NRO.





## THE MAHDIYYA NILE FLEET

Faisal M Musa

We know very little about traffic on the Nile before the Turco-Egyptian invasion except that in the last days of the Sennar Sultanate boats were the prevailing means of transport as evidenced by the length of voyages that took place and their importance in trade.

During the Turco-Egyptian period the rivers were the essential means of communication and when trade expanded under that rule it was the Nile that carried the bulk of the cargo. It was therefore not surprising that Egyptian officials had an accurate and detailed knowledge of the river Nile, its navigation, cataracts and flood timings in their reports<sup>1</sup>

With the success of his revolt the Mahdi was able to make use of his family's knowledge about boat construction along the Nile. It is known that his father had to migrate from Dongola to Karari, near Omdurman, in search of a new place suitable for shipyards to expand his trade. After the success of his revolt the Mahdi thought to make use of the Nile. He asked one of his 'Amils, Sheikh Ibrahim Sharif Al Doubali, the judge at the Islamic Court at Sennar, to provide him with a study about the Nile<sup>2</sup>. When this comprehensive study was completed, he ordered the *Amin Beit Al Mal* to construct large sailing boats to be owned and controlled by the *Beit Al Mal* administration. This emphasis made sense since the *Beit Al Mal* controlled internal and external trade<sup>3</sup>. The Nile fleet after its completion played a great role in both the trade and communications network. The *Beit Al Mal* and its different branches in the regions were located along the river banks to enable the fleet to carry goods easily.



The reaches for the Nile navigation system were called *Meshra* and those during the Mahdiyya were: Meshra Al Moghran, Meshra Merowe, Meshra Wad Medani (up the Blue Nile to Fazugli), Meshra Al Sharq (on the main Nile from Tuti Island to Hagar Al Asel), Meshra Berber, Meshra Dongola, Meshra Omdurman (up the White Nile as far as Al Dueim and Meshra Al Dueim (as far as Fashoda)<sup>4</sup>.

At every *Meshra* there was a landing place, and at every important post there was a guard station in charge of safeguarding the property of the *Beit Al Mal*, which could help during the flood season.

### TYPES OF VESSELS

The Mahdiyya fleet was composed of two types of vessels. The first, which formerly belonged to the Turco-Egyptian administration, were boats such as the *qayasa*, a large cargo carrier, the *dhahabiya*, a big passenger saloon carrier with a cabin built at the stern, and three small steamers, the *Ismailia*, the *Rejaf* and the *Bordein*.

The second type was the big sailing boat made locally from *sunt* wood. There were about 70 of these, and they were supported by a number of smaller boats, about 1,300 in all. The most famous of these big boats were *Al Fashir*, *Al Messelimiya* and *Bouga*<sup>5</sup>. Their capacity varied between 500 and 700 ardebs<sup>6</sup>. The master of the fleet vessels was called the Ra'is. He acted as a captain and had a great deal of knowledge about the Nile currents, winds and islands. He was supported by a crew of men, the *Baharia*, who helped him to pass vessels through the cataracts, or dragging them against the current, especially during bad weather and when winds were unfavourable.

The main function of the Nile Fleet was to carry goods and passengers, and sometimes soldiers. The *Meshras* and fleets were

hired out at certain rates. Wingate Pasha relied on such data when estimating in his intelligence report the fleet strength and income of the Mahdist Regime in 1890-91. He stated that the rates were as follows (Maria Theresa Dollars):

Meshra Al Moghran	10 Dollars per annum
Meshra Merowe	11 Dollars per annum
Meshra Wad Medani (up to Fazughli)	20 Dollars per annum
Meshra Al Sharq (from Tuti Island to Hagar Al Asel)	10 Dollars per annum
Meshra Berber	10 Dollars per annum
Meshra Dongola	3 Dollars per annum
Meshra Omdurman (up to Al Dueim)	5 Dollars per annum
Meshra Al Dueim (up to Fashoda)	15 Dollars per annum
This gives a total of	84 Dollars per annum <sup>7</sup>

The Mahdist fleet was such an essential means of communication that after the fall of the Mahdist Regime, Kitchener Pasha saw its potential as a source of government income. The incoming Condominium Government drew up new regulations to improve shipping income. Among these were regulations of 1899 relating to ferry leases and Nile boat Customs.

#### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Hill, R (1962), *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881*, London, p.6

<sup>2</sup> Private papers of Sheikh Ibrahim Al Doulabi, Omdurman, Wad Nubawi Report on the Nile, covering Nile navigation, islands, wind direction and flood timing

<sup>3</sup> Ahmed Wad Suleiman's papers, group (G) NRO Mahdiyya, 8/1/4

<sup>4</sup> NRO Mahdiyya, 1/30/170

<sup>5</sup> List of the Mahdiyya Nile fleet administrative staff, Sudan Archive, Durham, 4/10/14

<sup>6</sup> NRO Mahdiyya, 1/31/170, p.3

<sup>7</sup> NRO Mahdiyya, 1/31/170



## THE REVIVAL OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN'S ARCHIVES

Douglas Johnson

Some thirty years ago I was employed by the Southern Regional Government to help establish a Southern Regional Records Office in Juba. The idea had originally been proposed by the then Minister of Information and Culture, Mading de Garang, and a preliminary survey of government records held in province and district offices had been conducted by Professor Robert O. Collins, of the University of California at Santa Barbara. But, for some years after this survey had been made very little had been accomplished in setting up an archive service. An archive department had been created, but its only holdings were the old Equatoria Province closed files in the basement room of the former province headquarters in Juba. My main job was to complete the collection of files from the other provincial and district headquarters. By May 1983, when civil war broke out and the Southern Regional government was abolished by presidential decree, I had managed to transfer some 5,000 files to Juba from around Jonglei Province, Eastern and Western Equatoria Provinces, and Malakal, the headquarters of Upper Nile Province.

Unfortunately, despite the increase in the department's holdings, the Southern Regional Government never saw its way to allocating a building where the records could be safely stored, or a functioning archive service established. The comment of one very senior member of the High Executive Council, *'why do we need a room to keep old records?'* was typical of the attitude of the time. Despite the fact that each regional ministry was generating piles of correspondence, forms, reports and folders (not to mention the documents being produced by each provincial government), little thought was given to creating an efficient way to store and retrieve the information contained in these records. So, the files we had brought back to Juba were sorted temporarily in beer cartons





Southern Sudan Archive in a tent!

(Tusker Export was just the right size for the government folders), and stacked in different offices.

On re-division in 1983 the Southern Regional Records Office remained in Juba, under the authority of the Equatoria Regional Government. The archive collection was split up between several different buildings, moved about as these buildings were allocated for different purposes, often dumped in disorder in poorly maintained storerooms, left to be eaten by termites, nibbled by rodents, fouled by bats, and soaked in puddles of rain water. The attitude of some regional officials was that this archive was '*a big headache*', as one of them put it to me when I returned to Juba in 2006.

Whatever the state of the archives in Juba throughout the civil war, the fate of government records left in the district headquarters was far worse. Between 1990 and 1996 I worked on and off in Operation Lifeline Sudan and was able to visit many of the places I had known during the Addis Ababa peace. I found that soldiers – whether from the government or the SPLA – seemed to make war on paper wherever they went. Nothing survived of the current records I had left behind in various headquarters. Even in towns held by the government throughout the war records were often put to other uses by soldiers, most commonly as cigarette paper. Very little survives of an administrative record that used to cover nearly a century of Southern Sudan's history.

The negotiations for the CPA brought an opportunity to halt the neglect and destruction of the South's heritage. In 2004 representatives of the British Institute in Eastern Africa and I met with the late Samson Kwaje at Naivasha and discussed with him plans for reviving the archive and setting up a proper antiquities and museum service. These plans began to be implemented by John Luk when he was Minister for Culture, Youth and Sports, and today are finally bearing fruit.





Trainee archivists outside tent.

It takes money, training and commitment to build an archive service. Unlike thirty years ago the money and commitment is there, and this is making the training possible. Different agencies – USAID and the US Ambassadors Cultural Fund – have provided funds for the initial revival of the archives, and research institutions – the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) and the Rift Valley Institute (RVI) – have recently been providing the training.

Makila James, the first US Consul-General in Juba after the CPA, was responsible for getting the initial funding. USAID provided the money for the construction of a storage tent (of the sort used by relief agencies during Operation Lifeline Sudan) where all the files could be collected together in one place. Then an application was made jointly by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, the BIEA and the RVI to the US Ambassadors Cultural Fund for a more ambitious training and digitization programme. The BIEA would obtain materials for file folders and storage cartons in Nairobi and assign graduate assistants to help in the sorting, storing and re-cataloguing of files, while the RVI would apply their experience in digitizing records for the Sudan Open Archive to supply the ministry with the necessary equipment to begin scanning and digitizing records, and with a qualified trainer to train the ministry's staff.

The funding was secured, but it took some time to get everything organized. Finally, after the 2010 elections were over and Gabriel Changson Chang was reappointed minister of the re-organized Ministry of Culture and Heritage (Youth and Sports having been hived off as a separate ministry) the revival of the archives, directed by Youssef Fulgencio Onyalla, became a top priority. This October all the pieces, and all the actors, were in place. The boxing material was purchased and delivered, I accompanied Hannah Waddilove and Sam Wilkins from the BIEA to Juba, and

Toby Collins came with the RVI's contribution of scanners, laptops, and hard drives.

The ministry had organized a grand training workshop (complete with banner), not only for its immediate staff, but for select staff from the state ministries of culture in Juba, Malakal and Wau – fifteen trainees in all. Most were young, computer literate, bilingual in Arabic and English (and tri-lingual in vernacular languages), well educated (there was even one with an archaeology degree) and enthusiastic. My main task was to give them all instructions in the filing system established in the 1920s and used (with some minor modifications) by all government offices in the Southern Sudan up to now. We also organized a production line constructing the new archive cartons.

The main problem was that the archive tent, where the files were stored, was extremely hot during the day. A temporary workshop was established in the adjacent building where the Juba Public Library is to be. There boxes were made, and files brought out from the tent (some still in their Tusker cartons) and recorded. Inside the tent, however, many files were still piled up in no order and an initial sorting had to be undertaken. This was done mainly by me, Hannah and Sam – bringing files out to the front of the tent in the morning when the front was in shadow, and to the rear of the tent in the afternoon when the sun had shifted. Toby set up the temporary digitization workshop in a cooler building and began training by scanning select files we were able to extract from the piles inside the tent.

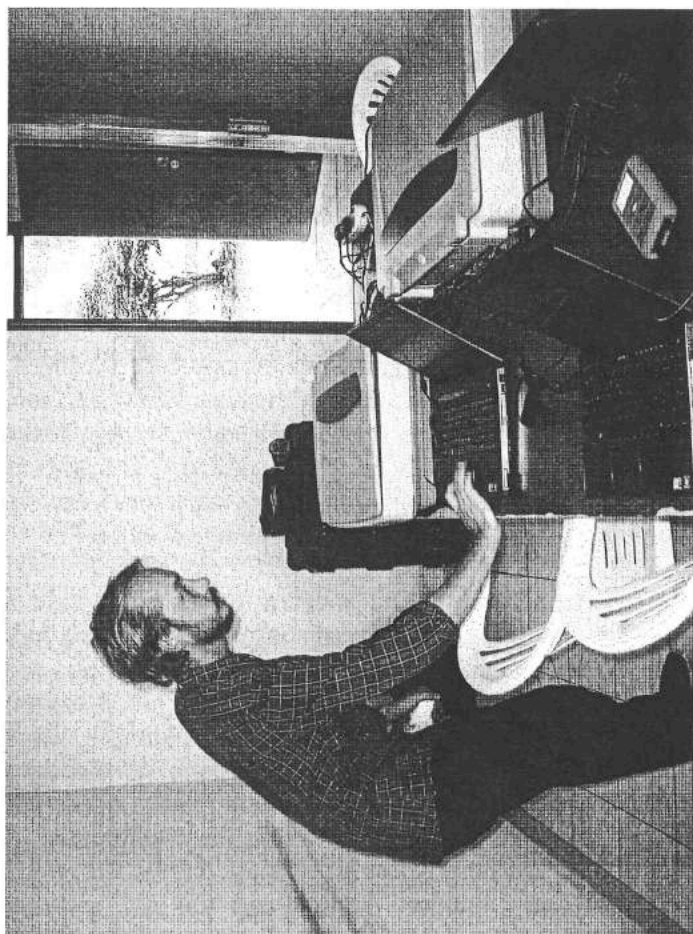
By the time the workshop was completed in mid-November all of the piles of files in the tent had been resorted into new piles denoting their offices of origin; the old Upper Nile Province files from Malakal had been sorted, boxed and re-catalogued; and an archive manual drafted and left with the department in Juba. Work on re-cataloguing the rest of the archive's holdings is continuing.



Why is this all necessary? A well regulated archive is the responsibility of every modern government. It serves as a repository for official documents recording the context and reasons for past administrative decisions, the data on which different government departments base their work, information on which development projects can be constructed, and historical and cultural information of value to the general public and academic researchers alike.

The elements necessary for a well regulated archive are: legislation setting out clearly the authority for the protection, preservation, and public access of public records; internal regulations for the regular transfer and release of documents to the archive; buildings for the secure and safe storage of documents; a trained professional staff charged with the responsibility for preserving documents and making them accessible; and a suitable financial structure for maintaining the archive.

These are the general principles, but what does this archive have to offer the Southern Sudan? After all, many of these old records were produced not by Southern Sudanese, but by foreigners. In the first place, they contain practical information that can still be of use. These records document the founding of the administrative system still operating in the rural areas and detail the reasons for creating that system, what worked, what didn't, and why. They often record information that could have been used, and could still be used, in the implementation of the CPA, because many of the records I brought back from Malakal in 1981 and 1983 documented the provincial boundaries of the old Upper Nile Province, which of course is relevant to the definition and demarcation of the north-south border (unfortunately the negligent way in which these files were stored after 1983 means that many of these records seem to have been lost or destroyed).



Setting up digital lab

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In addition to this practical information there is the historical information of value to Southern Sudanese as they begin to research and interpret their own past. Some of the files that have survived record the activities of persons who later became prominent in the South's recent history: Akuot Atem as a police sergeant stopping a tribal fight in the early 1950s; Joseph Oduho's first employment as a teacher; Buth Diu's trial in the late 1950s for publicly advocating federalism, a political solution, which if adopted then might have avoided the two civil wars the South suffered since.

But if this archive is kept in Juba, can it be used by people in the other states? Fortunately, new technology means that it can. In the early 1980s there was no photocopying facility in Juba. Today, digital technology means that original documents can be scanned, saved on hard drives, copied onto CDs or memory sticks, and sent back to the states from which they originated. In the future digitized documents could even be posted online. The RVI is currently supervising a pilot project digitizing documents dealing with the South's regional, internal and international borders.

What still needs to be done? The Southern Sudan could have a fully functioning archive service already in operation by 10 July 2011: it has the equipment, it has staff who are being trained and are showing an enthusiasm for and dedication to the job, it has the support of external agencies. What it needs is a building in which to store the documents safely, undertake repairs of damaged records, continue digitization, and provide a place where the documents can be consulted. And this needs the commitment of the Government of Southern Sudan to allocate the resources and provide the necessary budget – something the old regional governments failed to do.

As the South faces a new future, it can now also pay attention to and preserve its past.



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ELTAHAWY, N, COMER, B & ELSHIMI, A (Eds) (2009) *Voices in Refuge: stories from Sudanese refugees in Cairo* (Cairo: American University)

ESSIEN, K & FALOLA, T (Eds) (2009) *Culture and Customs of Sudan* (Oxford: Harcourt)

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GRANT, J A (2009) *Darfur: reflections on the crisis and responses* (Kingston, Ont: Queen's University)

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GREEN, D (2008) *Armies of God: Islam and Empire on the Nile, 1869-1899* (London: Arrow)

GRISWOLD, E (2010) *The Tenth Parallel: dispatches from the fault-line between Christianity and Islam* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux)

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- JEFFREYS, W R (Ed) (2008) *The Darfur Crisis* (New York: Nova Science)
- KEEN, D (2008) *Benefits of Famine: a political economy of famine relief in South Western Sudan, 1983-1989* (Oxford: James Currey)
- KEENAN, M L (2010) *That Hard Hot Land: Botanical collecting expedition in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1933-34* (Keenan)
- KHAN, C (2008) *Conflict, Arms and Militarization: the dynamics of Darfur's IDP camps* (Geneva: Small Arms Survey)
- LEONARDI, C et al (2010) *Local Justice in Southern Sudan* (Washington: US Inst of Peace & Rift Valley Institute)
- MALOK, E (2009) *The Southern Sudan's Struggle for Liberty* (Nairobi: Kenway Publications)
- MAMDANI, M (2009) *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur politics and the war on terror* (New York: Pantheon)
- MASKALYK, J (2009) *Six Months in Sudan: a young doctor in a war-torn village* (Edinburgh: Canongate)
- McEVOY, C & MURRAY, R (2008) *Gauging Fear and Insecurity: perspectives on armed violence in Eastern Equatoria and Turkana North* (Geneva: Small Arms Survey)



MIDDLE EAST & CENTRAL ASIA DEPT (2008) *Sudan: first review of performance under the 2007-08 staff-monitored program* (Washington DC: IMF)

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- REYNOLDS, L & J (2009) *Dedicated to the People of Darfur: writings on fear, risk and hope* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press)
- SALVATORI, S et al (Ed) (2008) *A Neolithic Cemetery in the Northern Dongola Reach: excavations at Site R12* (Oxford: Archaeopress)
- SANSCULOTTE-GREENIDGE, K (2009) *Power as Peace: change and continuity among Darfuri refugees in Tchad* (Durham)
- SCHOMERUS, M (2008) *Violent Legacies: insecurity in Sudan's Central and Eastern Equatoria* (Geneva: Small Arms Survey)
- SHANMUGARATNAM, N (Ed) (2008) *Between War and Peace in Sudan and Sri Lanka: Deprivation and livelihood revival* (Oxford: James Currey)
- STEIDLE, B & W G (2007) *The Devil came on Horseback: bearing witness to the genocide in Darfur* (New York: Public Affairs Books)
- THOMAS, E (2009) *Against the Gathering Storm: securing Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement* (London: Chatham House)
- THOMAS, F C (2009) *Slavery and Jihad in the Sudan: a narrative of the slave trade, Gordon and Mahdism, and its legacy to-day* (New York: iUniverse)
- TUBIANA, J (2008) *The Chad-Sudan Proxy War and the 'Darfurization' of Chad: myths and reality* (Geneva: Small Arms Survey)
- VERJEE, A (2010) *Race Against Time: the countdown to the referenda in Southern Sudan and Abyei* (London: Rift Valley Institute)
- WAIHENGGER, W (2006) *The Mediator: General Lazaro Sumbeiywo and the southern Sudan peace process* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers)
- WALLACE, W (2009) *Daughters of Dust: growing up an outcast in the desert of Sudan* (London: Simon & Schuster)



WALZER, C (2010) *Out of Exile: the abducted and displaced people of Sudan* (San Francisco: McSweeney's)

WILLIS, J, EL-BATTAHANI, A & WOODWARD, P (2009) *Elections in Sudan: learning from experience* (London: Rift Valley Institute)

WOODWARD, P (2008) *Sudan: political transitions past and present* (Inst for ME & Islamic Studies, Durham University)

YONGO-BURE, B (2007) *Economic Development of Southern Sudan* (Lanham MD: Univ Press of America)

YOUNG, H et al (2009) *Livelihoods, Power and Choice: the vulnerability of the Northern Rizaygat, Sudan* (Medford MA: Feinstein)

*There are many other publications by 'The Small Arms Survey' of Geneva available on line at their web site: [www.smallarmssurvey.org](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org) click on 'Sudan'.*



**PH.D THESES RELATING TO SUDAN ACCEPTED AT  
BRITISH UNIVERSITIES (2005-2008)  
(based on ASUK returns)**

BARLTROP, R (2007) *Help or Hindrance?: Mediation and relief in Sudan's Civil War, 1983-2004*, Oxford University. (See booklist above)

CLARKSON, A I (2005) *Courts, Councils and Citizenship: political culture in the Gezira Scheme in Condominium Sudan*, Durham University

KAJIVORA, E R (2005) *The Role of Religion in Conflict: with special reference to its contribution in the Civil War in Sudan from independence to 2002*, Birmingham University

LEONARDI, D C (2005) *Knowing Authority: Colonial governance and local community in Equatoria Province, Sudan, 1900-56*, Durham University

LeRICHE, M (2008) *How Humanitarianism affected the Conduct and Outcome of War in South Sudan*, King's College, London)

MORO, L N (2008) *Oil, Conflict and Displacement in Sudan*, Oxford University

*I am sure that this list is incomplete. If you know of any other Ph.D or Masters theses on Sudan accepted by British universities since 2005, please let the editor have details for inclusion in a future issue of 'Sudan Studies'.*





## BOOK REVIEWS

Francis Mading Deng, **Sudan at the Brink: Self-Determination and National Unity**, Fordham University Press and The Institute for International Humanitarian Affairs, New York, 2010;

Richard Cockett, **Sudan: Darfur and the failure of an African state**, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2010.

Francis Deng needs little introduction to readers of *Sudan Studies*. As well as his long career as a scholar and writer he has served Sudan as a diplomat and more recently the UN, first with respect to internally displaced persons and currently on prevention of genocide. Throughout, he has consistently sought to present a case for the unity of his country, frequently drawing on his home area of Abyei for inspiration, recalling the co-operation of his father, the late Chief Deng Majok of the Ngok Dinka, and the Missiriya Arab Chief Babo Nimir.

This short book falls into a number of sections. After a brief introduction and discussion of the situation with regard to unity, there is an address that Francis gave at the National Dialogue on Peace Issues held in Khartoum in September 1989. The new Islamist regime had only been in power for a couple of months but its colours were already beginning to appear and friends of Francis advised him not to participate in a show event. Nevertheless, he decided to go ahead and was given the opportunity to express his views. He saw then three main possibilities for Sudan. First, it could remain as a unified country, but only if radically re-structured. Second, it might exist with some form of loose co-existence between North and South. Finally, it might end with complete separation. As expected from his past expressions of opinion Francis argued for making the first possibility a reality: he added that it would involve putting the unity of the nation ahead of seeking to impose an Islamic agenda that was inherently divisive. It was a



brave and moving message to give at the time, but not as it proved sufficient to turn the tide.

Fast forward twenty years and Francis is again in Khartoum as keynote speaker at a symposium on Unity and Self-Determination organised by the Information Section of the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) and the Sudanese think tank Future Trends' Foundation. By now he had become well known as an originator of the idea of 'one country, two systems' which he saw as embodied in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (though constitutionally it consisted of an asymmetric federation with both a national government and a government for the South). But it had proved a difficult relationship and seemed likely that the SPLA/M, which had been under John Garang a force fighting for a new form of unity, was likely to move towards separation in 2011. It was a poignant outcome for someone who had for so long argued and worked for unity, but for Francis it is tempered by the need to recognise the continuing ties between North and South that might in the future bring them into some form of closer relationship once more as he spells out in the Conclusion. Before that there is a further short address that Francis gave to the Institute for International Humanitarian Affairs, Fordham University, on 'Ten Principles of Negotiation'.

In his *Sudan: Darfur and the failure of the African State*, Richard Cockett begins the select bibliography at the end of the book by saying that Francis Deng's *War of Visions* was one of the two books he found indispensable for this work (the other being the late Bob Collin's *A History of Modern Sudan*). Cockett is the Africa Editor of *The Economist* magazine and the book very much reflects the strengths and limitations of a journalistic background, being readable and informed rather than reflective or analytic. The historical chapters that make up much of the first half of the book focussing on the years since independence are broad brush and somewhat simplistic- I doubt that Turabi ever held the liberal-democratic views that he was to

be accused of betraying after 1989, he always had his own Islamist caveats. The later chapters on the post-1989 years are more impressive not least because as an experienced journalist he has an observant eye for what goes on around him and a good ear for his interviewees, both of which add colour to his story. It is also of course the period of the most dramatic changes to Sudan since independence with first the damaging experiences of Islamist rule and then eventually the moves to compromise with the SPLA/M, which as Cockett and most observers believe will lead to separation. The latter part of the book also contains two chapters on Darfur and it is useful to see that tragedy incorporated in a wider work on Sudan rather than as so often treated somewhat in isolation. This book appeared just before the referendum of 2011 which will ensure much more work for Cockett and his fellow journalists in the weeks and months to come.

These two books will contribute to an understanding of the tragedy by which the military regime of Africa's largest state turned its back on the possibility of forging a multicultural national identity and turned instead to an eventual division on the basis of a minority's interpretation of Islam. Some have long felt that Sudan was too large and too varied to survive, but Francis Deng always believed that it was possible to 'be Sudanese'; while Richard Cockett contributes to the picture of what appears to be the country's final years.

*Peter Woodward*



## BOOK REVIEW

**Sudan – No Easy Ways Ahead;** Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Publication Series on Democracy, Volume 18, 2010; Berlin, Germany;

ISBN 978-3-86928-030-1; downloadable at <http://www.boell.de>

This report may have appeared just before the Sudanese elections of April 2010 but most of the points which it makes are as valid (or invalid) now as they were then. This is not only because politics can move slowly but because many challenges that prevent the way ahead from being ‘Easy’ are as great today as a year ago – partly because they are not being acknowledged. Some parts of the report address this, others do not.

The main ‘elephant in the room’ is, as so often, the National Congress Party government. In the sections attempting to predict the election outcome, this produces by default some salutary warnings to a thriving political risk forecasting industry. In his chapter, *‘Sudan Votes: The 2010 Elections and Prospects for Democratic Transformation’*, Sudanese academic Atta el Battahani shows a thorough understanding of the NCP regime. Yet this realism seems to desert him when he discusses possible poll results. Instead of predicting the NCP’s systematic rigging in Northern Sudan, as did many Sudanese (and as took place), Atta foresees *‘a genuine moment of political participation and national cohesion...’*.

Wishful thinking is also in evidence in Alex de Waal’s chapter, *‘Sudan’s Choices: scenarios beyond the CPA’*. *‘The successes of the [Comprehensive Peace Agreement]’*, he writes, *‘lie in the fact that its arrangements are uniformly interim – that it consigns everyone to the same provisional status.’* This refers to the CPA clauses on ‘democratic transformation’. Yet it is crystal clear (and

has been since its 1989 coup) that the NCP has no intention whatsoever of being 'interim', nor has it any love for democracy (which would clearly end its reign).

Many will also disagree that a key factor damaging '*any positive-sum potential*' of the CPA is the International Criminal Court's arrest warrant for President Omer Hassan Ahmed el Beshir. I have asked many Sudanese about the indictments and have met nothing but support for the Court. '*No peace without justice*,' is a common response, from all over the country.

This is perhaps where politics and sociology/anthropology meet – or fail to. De Waal's article emphasises aspects such as national identity (Sudan's failure to find one) and the impact of 'marginalisation'. These are all interesting and important but they do not tell us how or why the regime is waging war on its own people (not only the regionally or ethnically 'marginalised') or how an Islamist party ruling through ruthless security services might fulfil the CPA's human rights and democratisation clauses.

In comparison, the South is safer ground and in '*The Road Map Countdown – Dynamics and Implications of Possible Divorce*', John Gai Nyuot Yoh robustly tackles the challenges to '*a liberation movement in power*', including many rarely raised by interested governments or companies. Internal decision-making processes and public accountability are among his targets. He also flags Khartoum: '*Throughout the past five years, the NCP tried to corner the SPLM at every stop sign defined in the CPA road map*'.

In a solid historical and political account of the '*Three Areas*', Sudan Focal Point veteran Marina Peter gives us a timely reminder that the people of Abyei, the Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains are being left at the NCP's mercy. French academic Roland Marchal discusses some aspects of regional politics and rightly criticises the European Union: '*It has become a habit for EU*

*Special Envoys to focus on humanitarian aspects and ignore the political ones...’.*

This lays the groundwork for substantial (and substantiated) criticism of involved governments (including Khartoum) and of the United Nations itself by a former Head of the UN Mission in Sudan, Peter Schumann. He accuses the ‘international community’ of sacrificing the interests of the Sudanese to their own ‘foreign policy goals’ and takes on another elephant in the room by detailing why the UN is ‘successfully failing’. It would be interesting to see his analysis of the UN-African Union Mission in Darfur.

*Gill Lusk*



# SSSUK

# NOTICES



**The Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom**  
**Minutes of the 23rd Annual General Meeting**  
**Khalili Lecture Theatre**  
**School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London**  
**3rd October, 2009**

The SSSUK Chairperson, Dr. Douglas Johnson, opened the Meeting at 11.55 and welcomed members to the 23<sup>rd</sup> AGM.

**1. Apologies:**

These were received from Committee members Jacob Akol, Jane Hogan, John Ryle and Peter Woodward, and SSSUK members Alison Pinkerton, Alan Goulty, Lilian Craig Harris, Ann Crichton-Harris, Benedetta de Alessi, Judith Large, Norman Jackson and Peter Everington, who also wished to thank the '*Sudan Studies*' Editor, Dr. John Davies, for doing such a good job.

**2. Minutes of the 22nd AGM of 4th October, 2008:**

The 23rd AGM approved these Minutes.

**3. Matters arising from the Minutes:**

No matters arose.

**4. Chairperson's report:**

Douglas Johnson said he would talk about the impending international Sudan conference in South Africa afterwards. He also praised the progress made in '*Sudan Studies*' and thanked everyone for their contributions. He stressed that SSSUK was for everyone interested in the Sudan and that they could offer contributions to the journal or the website. He thanked Michael Medley for his hard work in building the website.

**5. Secretary's report:**

Gill Lusk thanked everyone who had contributed to the Meeting, especially Adrian Thomas, who managed the membership lists as



well as the Treasurer's job, and also Daniel Large and Michael Medley. She welcomed Members' suggestions for the next Symposium and noted that the Committee could now be e-mailed via addresses on the website.

Gill said that the Committee was sad to have to announce the death in June of Kenneth Jackson, who had worked in forestry in the Sudan for many years before Independence and was a member of the Sudan Pensioners' Association.

The Secretary also asked for nominations for elections to the Committee in 2010.

#### **6. Treasurer's report:**

Adrian Thomas presented the unsigned accounts and said there were no major differences in 2009 compared to 2007. The capital reserve was gradually decreasing, though. There had been an increase in dues in 2009 because membership fees rose a little and we had also received a kind donation from our President, Professor Ibrahim el Salahi.

The revenue from the AGM and Symposium was under control but had been slightly down in 2008, while expenses had risen, especially for printing: as only one issue of '*Sudan Studies*' had been published in 2007, three had been printed in 2008, to catch up. We should avoid a deficit in 2009.

Adrian appealed for new members and drew attention to the form on the SSSUK website. The Gift Aid tax recovery scheme that Dr. David Lindley had instituted when he was Treasurer was working well and we expected a refund from the tax office next year.

#### **7. Editor's report:**

Dr. Jack Davies noted that in '*Sudan Studies*' No. 40, there was an item on the charity *Together for Sudan* and there would be an

appreciation of J. Kenneth Jackson in the following issue. He asked for contributions from 'today's lecturers' for issues 41 and 42.

Jack Davies and David Lindley still had CDs for sale of back issues of '*Sudan Studies*'; a CD of issues 1-30 costs £10.00. He asked for book reviews.

### **8. Any Other Business:**

Douglas Johnson gave an update on the impending International Sudan Studies Conference at the University of South Africa.

There was a discussion on improving SSSUK publicity and contacts via '*Sudan Studies*' and the website <[www.sssuk.org](http://www.sssuk.org)>

Some doctors suggested links to the Sudanese Doctors' Union.

Philip Bowcock asked for contributions to work he was doing on the Nilotic diaspora.

Mansour el Agib noted that rains had been bad in some areas of the Sudan and asked to appeal for help on the SSSUK website, which was agreed.

Professor Peter Woodward said we should record the death of our former President, El Tayeb Salih.

**The meeting was drawn to a close by the Chairperson.**





# Sudan Studies Society of the UK: Accounts for 2009

INCOME		2009	2008	EXPENDITURE		2009	2008
Membership dues		1,683.22	1,563.26	Printing		865.64	1,002.17
				Secretarial Expenses		25.70	
Sale of Publications and CDs		168.00	22.00	Committee Room Hire			74.70
Interest on Bank Accounts		2.01	93.01	Committee Travel		35.40	
Donations		71.00	117.00	Support for International Conference			
AGM/Symposium		921.00	718.00	Other		117.30	
				AGM/Symposium		842.85	1,912.15
				Total		1,886.89	2,989.02
				Surplus for the Year		958.34	
				(Deficit for the Year)		475.75	
Grand Total		2,845.23	2,513.27	Grand Total		2,845.23	2,513.27

ASSETS		2009	2008
Bank Balance on 1st January		5,224.39	5,700.14
Bank Balance at 31st December		6,182.73	5,224.39
Surplus (Deficit)		958.34	475.75

*Adrian Thomas*  
Prepared by Adrian Thomas  
Honorary Treasurer, SSSUK

*Dr David Lindley*  
Checked on behalf of members  
by Dr David Lindley, SSSUK Committee

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### Notes for Contributors

SSSUK welcomes notes and articles intended for publication, which will be assessed by the Editorial Board. The normal maximum length of an article is 5,000 words including footnotes; longer articles may be accepted for publication in two or more parts. Notes and articles should be typed and double spaced and should normally be submitted as paper copy and as word processed files (in PC format) on diskette or preferably as an e-mail attachment, if at all possible. SSSUK retains the right to edit articles for reasons of space and consistency of style and spelling. *Sudan Studies* aims to follow the editorial style of *African Affairs*, the Journal of the Royal African Society.

Manuscripts are not normally returned to authors, but original material such as photographs will be returned.

It is helpful to have, very briefly (2 to 3 lines), any relevant details about the author – any post held, or time recently spent in the Sudan

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